

239
30

CONSIDERATIONS

Touching the Late
T R E A T Y
F O R A P E A C E
held at V X B R I D G E.

With some Reflections upon the Principall
Occasions and Causes of the

F R V S T R A T I O N T H E R E O F.

Extracted out of the late Printed full Relation
of the Passages concerning it.

PRINTED AT OXFORD,
By Leonard Lichfield Printer to the
University. 1645.

c/D

quali s. maria e s. jo

1. s. maria e s. jo

2. s. maria e s. jo

3. s. maria e s. jo

4. s. maria e s. jo

5. s. maria e s. jo

6. s. maria e s. jo



CONSIDERATIONS TOUCHING THE FRVSTRATION Of the Late T R E A T Y.

O N O N describing the practises and plots used by *Gelon*, how to make himselfe sole Tyrant over *Sicily*, sets this downe for a ruled observation upon his Case; *οὐλως ἀποτελεῖται οὐ-νανος τῷ λαβεῖν ἐπὶ τὸν δύτην*, that, as there is a kind of *Pleasure*, in the practice and exercise of any *Power* which is *given*; so, that pleasure, is improoved to a kind of *Lust* or *Venerie*, no way so much, as, when that *Power* is exercised and administred, either against the *Fortune*, or against the *Person*, of that man, which *gives* it: The beames of *Sovereignetey*, by like, being as the beames of the *Sunne*, not so hot, in *direct and strait lines*, as in *reflections*. And therefore, as *Pliny* speakes of *Callimachus* (an excellent Painter, but one that was so curious, that the grace of his work was much abated by the diligence; for, he could never tell, when he had done well) that, he was *maximus sui calumniator*, his own worst *detractor*: So does *Aristides* oblige of an excellent Prince, administering that Empire with *Remissenesse* and *Favour*, which

which is best sway'd by Justice, and by Power; that he is ~~by~~ ~~excommunicato~~ ~~and~~ ~~an~~ ~~awful~~ ~~reprobate~~, his own greatest Rebel; For, letting down the string of Monarchy never so little, and sinking his own naturall Right and Interest in all High Actions, to an inferior communication, and adoption of other Councells, It often hapneth to him, as it does, to many other kind Masters in the World. That, whatsoever he shall, heretofore, have granted, shall be no longer thought on, as a piece of Grace and Mercy; but, whatsoever He shall, henceforth, deny, shall be now looke^t on, as an Act of great Injustice and Tyranny. The fadde testimony, which the Miseries of our present Warre afford unto this Truth, will save the labour of examining other witnesses; and the fadde testimony, which the Mistakes of our late pretended Peace, afford, will save the examination of them. Never did condescension, (I had almost said, submissi-
on) in any Prince, meet with so much scorne and contempt, from any People; whil^t all His former Acts of Grace and Fau-
our, that should have Instructed their obedience, doe but Arme
 their Pride: By receiving, they only learne to Aske; and, ha-
 ving gotten a Power into their hands, they are now so farre en-
 amoured of Majesty, that, if they cannot get her Scepter, (as they
 hope, they shall) They are resolv'd, not to let goe her Sword;
 not unlike, to some young passionate lovers of Beauty, who,
 when they cannot obtaine the Eldest daughter to Wife, whom
 they most desire, will match her Sister. They think it not e-
 nough to cousen us of our Monies; now, they cousen us of our
 very Sences; and whilst they call upon the World, to behold
 and see a Treaty, They cheat them, with a very Trick. They
 have dealt with this whole Kingdom, now, as they dealt with
 the Lord Mack-Quire, not long since; They have, in a manner,
executed a Common-wealth, these three or four^t years, by
 Rapines, by Rebellions, and by all the sad appertinances of
Warre; and now, They cut it downe, as it were in a preten-
 ded Treaty, for a well settled Peace; but, to what end? not, as
 purposing or intending any such blessing, as Peace, unto the
 Kingdom, that should animate it, as it were, with a new life,
 and make it happy; but, only, to recover a little, so much of her
 examina-

examinate Spirits, as shall make her sensible, and more apprehensive of fresh and new Miseries. For, that in the late *Treaty*, they never did intend a *Peace*, I think, will be easily made appear to any common judgement and understanding, that shall observe and weigh no more, then these fourre particulars. First their *Indisposition* and *Aversion* from *Treating*: Secondly, their *Impotent* and *Imperfect Qualification* of their Commissioners to *Treat*: Thirdly, their *Insolent Expostulations* and *Demands* in the *Treaty*: and Lastly, Their *Inexorable Obduracy* and *Deafnesse*, against all *Enlargement*, *Prorogation*, or *Reviving* of the *Treaty*.

I. Concerning the first of these, their naturall *indisposition* and *aversion* from *Treating*. It is worth observing, That from the 4th of July last, when His Majesty recommended this *Treaty* first unto them, unto the 23^d of November last, when their *Propositions* were brought downe to *Oxford*, upon which the *Treaty* was founded, there passed almost five whole *Monthes* betweene. A Small Time, for the grave *Advises* of a Parliament to worke in, in such a poynt full of perplexities, as this,

Q: *Whether it be better for the Kingdome, to have Peace, or Warre?*
If the question had been onely put, whither *Presbytery* were not better then *Episcopacy*, whereon dependeth but the Ruine of the *Church*? or whether *Democracy*, were not better then *Monarchy*, whereon dependeth, but the Ruine of the *State*? or lastly, whither the *Militia* of the Kingdome, were not safer in their hands, then in the Kings; whereon dependeth, but the Ruine of them *both*? For the ventilation and agitation of such easie poynts, as these, a matter of *Three Dayes* a piece, is time enough; (for no more would be allowed us, at *Uxbridge*) as if the *Church*, amongst the other new markes of *Primitive Institution*, were in this also, to be reckoned the more like, to *Christ*; for *dying* and *rising* again; for laying down her old *Ceremonious* and *Carnall Body*, and taking up a new, *glorius* and *Spirituall Body*, and all in *Three Dayes*? But when a poynt of so great concerne, as this, comes in debate, *whither it be better to have Peace, or Warre?* A poynt, which, if it miscarrie never so little in the stating, may chance endanger That *Lords*

Pension, and this Lords Place, may chance endanger the Tryall of some of the Members, and the Trade of more; may chance returne them, to their Originall three-penny Seats, that have sat, all this while in great State, upon the Stage? It will aske time, to traverse and discusse it; and foure or five monthes Allowance, is truely, with the shortest. All this while, indeed, had they a very hard game to play. They held the Wolfe by the Eare, as they say; They durst not hold a Treaty, when the King offered it, for then, They knew they should loose Themselves; and They durst not let it goe, when it was offered; for, then they knew they should loose the People. Was it not high time, for to bestirre them now, and like true State-Jugglers, expresse a little skill? First therefore, to make the People a little sport in the street, the better to perswade them faster in; They doe give it out, that if the King would acknowledge them His Parliament, and the Great Councell of the Kingdome, then They would Treat; as if this were a World for men, *ra övvara avri nis aändetis davulgen*, to admire Names for Things: as if Theodora in Procopius, having been a common Whore, and now comming to the Court to be Iustinians wife, were ever a whit the honeste Woman, for Euphemia's name; as if they knew not, how to imitate their dear Bretbren of Scotland, as Esops Aſſe did the Dogge, who, seeing the Dogge leap upon his Master, and his Master stroke him, and call him by his Name, thought that He might doe so too, and be as welcome. When this did not take, as was expected, (for I dare say, They stood upon this Denomination, They desired the grant of this Liberty, but as Saint Augustine in his youth is reported to have desired the gift of Chaffitie, which He had rather God would have denied him) when there was no Remedy, but that Treat they must; By meere slight of hand, they draw some Propositions, which they will have called, Propositions for a safe and a well grounded Peace, like so many Ribbands out of their mouth, the various Colours whereof doe so please the Peoples Eyes, that they cannot see the Cordes; Propositions, which the very Anabaptists have already Christened in their Child-hood, and call'd them Propositions of Peace; which

which I am confident, They dare not hope to see, at their full
 yeares of Action and Accomplishment, even by a successfull
 Warre. And thus, having made the Quarrell become the
Decision; having by cleanly conveyance, jugled the true ground
 of the Warre on the Kings part, into the Foundation of the
Peace on their part: They hope, they have satisfied the World,
 now, that They are for Peace, but that the King is not; And
 they doubt not, I warrant you, to raise good Summes out of the
 People, for the continuance of Warre, upon the credit of these
 pretended Intentions, which they had of Peace: as your ordi-
 nary Fuglers of Small-Wares use to doe; who will put a pad-
 lock into the poore Country-fellowes mouth, that shall there-
 by suffer some of his Tricks, and then make him pay his penny,
 besides, for seeing them.

5 2
 I I. In the second place, observe their Impotent and Imper-
fect Qualification of their Commissioners to Treat: For first,
 whereas, the King invested his Commissioners, or any ten of
 them, with a full and whole Power, not only to Meet and Treat,
 but also, to Compose and Conclude a Peace, obliging Himselfe
 under his own Royall Hand to ratifie whatsoever they should
 doe: The Men of Westminster endow their Commissioners,
 but with half a Power; A Power to Treat; but reserve to
 themselves the better half, a power to Conclude; tying up their
 Commissioners onely to such Instructions, as, either were alre-
 adie given them, or else, from time to time, shoule be. Now, let
 all the World Judge, whether these men had any Love to
Peace, (nay, whether they, rather, did not Feare it) who, durst
 not trust their owne Members, creatures of their owne election
 and free chooyce, with the managery and regulating of it. The
 Kings Majesty trusted his Commissioners with a power, which,
 if they had abus'd, they had, indeed, abus'd the King, by giving
 and betraying up his Rights; but, They had not abus'd them-
 selves; nay, they might have done it, no doubt, to their owne
 great advantage: But, if They had trusted their Commissioners
 with such a power, those Commissioners could not have abus'd
 the Parliament, by giving up, and betraying of their Rights,
 but withall, They must abus'e Themselves, and doe it, to their
 owne

owne ~~speciall~~ disadvantage: And yet, ~~so zealous~~ is the King for *Peace*, that it might be settled, that Those men, who might abuse his Power to his prejudice, ~~are trusted~~; and ~~so jealous~~ are the Rebels of *Peace*, least it should be settled, that Those men, who could not abuse the Parliament-power, but to their owne prejudice, ~~are not~~. Now: what could the World expect, in order to a *Peace*, from such *English*-*Commissioners*? from such persons, who were rather *Parliament*-*Conduits*, to convey such *Answers*, and the *Reflection* of such *Thoughts*, as were hourly put into them; then, *Parliament*. *Commissioners*, to speak upon occasion, and to utter, what They themselves *Thought*? What could the World look for, from men, who were not so much, as their *Humble Oratours*, to use (if not, any *Reason*, as being *against the usage of Parliament*, yet) a little *Rhetorique* to colour, and set off the businesse; but, were onely their *dumbo Oracles*, which opened not their mouth, or ever spake word, but, as the *Devill of Westminster* (who, was brought every day from *London* to *Uxbridge* in a Cloak-baig, as the *Holy Ghost*, they say, was once brought from *Rome* to *Trent*) did usually possesse them, and inspire them. I believe, they durst confide in their *Committee*; but, they durst not confide in their *Commissioners*. The *Grand Committee*, they knew, was, as the *first-runnynge* of this Rebellion; all the *Strength* and *Spirit* of *Sedition* was in it; which would keep life in their *Designes* and *Purposes*, though at the very last gaspe! But these *Commissioners*, are but like the *second-rapp*, which runnes *smaller* and *smaller*; there might possibly, they thought, be some relish and tincture of *Allegiance* in some of them; and therefore, they durst not adventure any rich *Commodities*, in a *bottome*, that had, or might have, *more pieces*, then they could imagine. In the meane time, *God help the poore common people of this Land*, that have *trusted* these men with their *Fortunes*, *Free-domes* and *Lives*, in managing of a *Warr*, for the space of *three yearer*, and over; who, now dare not *Trust* one another, with either, in setting of a *Peace*, for the space of *three whole Dayes* together.

III. Thirdly, consider their *Insolent Expostulations* and *Demands*

Full Narration. Pag. 50.
No. LX.

mands in the *Treaty*. Whereas *Warre* is ever full of *Tumors*,
Risings and *Swelings*; all *Treaties* have in them, still, a kind of
lankenesse, *leanenesse*, or as it were, a *falling away* of *Desires*,
 (for, if there be not a *mutuall condescension* on both *Sides*; if one
 part onely *take*, and the other onely *give*: The *Common-wealth*
 may have a *clove* put in her *Mouth*, but she hath not
 cur'd her *Lunges*, and as one *disadvantage* does *beget* a *Treaty*,
 so another *advantage* will *break* it) And then, to what *one a-
 batement*, in what *one part*, of what *one Proposition*, did their
Commissioners ever *condescend*? In what *one thing*, did they
 goe lesse at *Uxbridge*, then before they did at *Oxford*: unlesse
 perchance you will account it a *greater insolence*, to *desie* the
 King at *fifty miles* distance from their owne *dung-hill*, then to
 doe it at *fifteene*? Men, that will pretend to *Treat*, and yet will
proceed in no complying, but all in a *commanding* and *Imperious*
 way, as these men did, can no more properly be said to *Treat*,
 then the Slave and his Master in *Terence*, could be said to *Fight*;
 when the one with *bearing*, and the other with *being beas*, at
 last, They were *both* sore and weary. *Inducia sunt Belli Ferio*,
 saith *Varro*: *Truces* and *Treaties*, are *Warre's Holy-dayes*: and
 as *Religion* useth to have her *free practice* and *exercise* in the
one, so should *Reason* in the *other*; and for men to urge onely
Demands in a *Treaty*, which lyes open on purpose, for admitt-
 ing of *Debates*, is all one, as for a man to think to make a *Syllo-
 gisme*, of nothing but *Conclusions*, because he would have no
Proposition denied. Besides, if nothing lesse then the granting
 of all these *Demands* can obtaine a *Peace*, (as it should seeme it
 cannot) I would faine know, *what these men propose* unto
 themselves if they should obtaine by *Warre*? What can They
 have more to *Aske*, or the King to *Give*, unlesse it were his
Life? (and if any thing secure that, it must be their *Scorne*,
 as preferring that of any *Confables* before it.) Suppose (I doubt
 not, but the *King of Kings* will ev'r keep them at the distance
 of a *Supposition*, and therefore I suppose) that all *Successie*,
 which ever yet crown'd impious *Attempt*, should wait on this
Rebellion, and make them *Lucky Villaines*: (for I find, that
 even the *Rebell Jewes*, a *Nation condemn'd to Slavery* since

the sacking of Hierusalem, were prosperous and fortunate once, for seaven yeares together, in an Insurrection under the Per-
son, which is more then ever they could boast of, either before or since.) Yet I dare say, that in these Propositions, They have endeavoured to lay some particular Obligations upon the King, in the way to Peace (as for example, that Imperious Obstruction of the Two Princes Right in their Electorall Dignity, which is the provision of the 22nd Proposition) which They themselves will never be able to make good unto their Malice, if they should succeed and prosper in this unnaturall Warre: And are these fit Ingredients for a Peace? If they can gaine that, in order to a Peace (that is, a Curbe and Bridle on the Imperiall Law) which they cannot loose by Warre, (because they never had it) I should commend the playing of their Cards, and think they doe just, as some cunning Merchants of their owne Miseries use to doe; that will ordinarily get more by the Breif, then they could loose, by the Fire.

But you will say, They demanded of the King, in order to our Peace, in a manner, but two things; An abolition of Episcopall Government, for the securing of the Church; and a disposall of the Militia to Commissioners of their owne Nomination, for the securing of the State. And to say truth, They did not but then, if you mark it, These two particulars doe stand out, and shew themselves as the most prominent pieces of all their Propositions, as those Two teeth did in the Worme, which Cesimus writes of in his Indian Stories: which indeed were all the teeth that Worme had: and yet with those two Teeth, was that Worme able to pull downe any Camel or Oxe, that happened to come neare him. The bare concession of these, involves a totall Alteration in the Government, both of the Spirituall and Civill State; and all other things contained in their Propositions, non sunt plura, sed minora, as Quintilian speakes, They are not more parts of Inholence, but lesser pieces.

Concerning the abolishing of Episcopacy, there passed Arguments with the Divines: one side preffing for it, and the other against it. Those Arguments on our part, that concluded against the abolishing thereof, were drawne, as I have learnt, from

from these three severall Heads: First, from the poynt of Perjury, the King having taken a Solemne Oath to maintaine the Rights & Liberties of Holy Church: Secondly, from the poynt of Sacriledge; The alienation of Things offer'd unto God, being accompanied still with visible, and more then ordinary Judgements from God, either upon the Persons or Fortunes, or Families, of those men that are the chiefe Instruments and Actors therein: and Thirdly, from the poynt of Divine Right; Episcopacy having been accounted and accepted, as an Ordinance and Institution of Christ himselfe, by the most Learned men that have lived in all Ages of the Church.

Against those Arguments deduced from the two first heads, there was scarce any thing offered in the shape of a Reply, which indeed was not Ridiculour, even in the Judgement of their owne Commissioners: for it appear'd, in those Two questions of Sacriledge and Perjury, Their understanding of the State thereof, was like their Conscience of the Sinnes, little or just none at all. Indeed little could be said, by greater Clerkes then they: for as the Oratour observes of some Creatures, that are pretty nimble at shifting for themselves, so long as they are in Cranies and in Holes, who notwithstanding are soone overtaken and caught when they are brought out into an open Field, where every man may see them; So there are some pieces of Truth, which will admit of disquisition, whither they be so, or no, so long, as they doe but peep now and then, out of the Pitt; which, when they are once laid open to the understanding, will bear no Argument; because they carry their owne light with them, that does betray them. But as touching the third Head, those Arguments that were instituted in defence of the Divine Right thereof, out of the Scriptures, to those, They made a shift to say something; and although that something were no more like an Answer, then an Apes like a Man: yet their owne Commissioners, who saw them beaten from their two other Workers, and yet were resolued never to give up the Fort; abett these Answers, and seeme to wonder, that we were not satisfied therewith. Alas! I cannot blame young Gamblers at disputing, if they catch up their last Stake.

It was all they had to live on. The two former Heads, that of Sacredge, and the other of Perjury, they frighted them so, that they durst not look them in the Faces: They were indeed so open, and so demonstrable: But this Third Head of Divine Right; because they thought it a Head in a Bagge: because They knew it was more Problematical, and would admit colours on either side: therefore they stick close to that, and thinke they can avoyd all Arguments from Scripture, that may be brought to prove it; nay, They thinke they can raise as good Arguments out of the Scripture, that shall conclude against it. And truely, I would not have any man thinke it strange, for men of contrary Perswasions to have contrary Conceptions upon some Texts of Scripture, which Scripture they did neither make nor write, and, which Scripture, is brought to prove and evidence a Truth, perchance, which, either it did not intend at all, or but upon occasion, and by the by; (as it may well happen in the case of Episcopacy, and in most other poyns of Christian Practice.) Why should any man, I say, wonder at this, that shall observe the very same Men, according to their different, and divided interests, to have as divided and different understandings, upon some Texts of Law, which Law, notwithstanding, they themselves fram'd and made, and which Law was brought to prove and evidence a Truth, which was one of the very Reasons, why that Law was made: (as it happened afterwards in the Case of the Kings Power in making a Cessation with Ireland, whither it were limited, or whither it were not limited by the Statute made this Parliament; and as it will happen in most other poyns of Civil Right.) Not that I can think these Arguments brought on either side, to be of equal worth and strength (for as it appears by all their Commissioners Answers which I have read, so does it appear by some of their Commissioners Argumens, which I have heard, that They had no power to Conclude) but that I thinke Ignorant Men, in pursuing of any Truth, to be like ignorant Hunters in pursuance of their Game; who whatsoever they can light on, by the by, lay hold on strait; and if they come to sell it, will be sure to ask much more then it is worth, or then any other man who knowes what

Full Narration. No.
 CXLIV.
 CXLV.

reclam.

S

what the Thing is will give, *Imbecillitate sua premium remittentes*, as he saies; having nobetter measure of the things worth, then their owne *weakenesse*; Or, that I thinke, with Saint Hilary, *quot voluntates, tot fides*; there are as many severall *Faiths*, as there are, *Willes*; and, when men of severall engagements, fall into heats and disputes, in poyncts, which are not mathematically demonstrable; their severall *affections* ordinarily will improve into severall *opinions*, and they will judge of things, not according to other mens *proofes*, but their own *prepossessions*: And therefore, for my part, I have ever thought most of our *Divinity Disputation*, but a kind of *Church-Duell*; which does oftner declare, which is the *Stronger* side, then, which the *Truer*; & so much the more often, by how much, it may fall out easily, that the truth may be on *neither*. But if men will proceed to *Disputes and Arguments*, (which, seldome, or, never, is, to any purpose; for, either, these persons, at whose request, or for whose satisfaction that *Disputation* is instituted, are able to judge of the solidity and strength thereof, or they are not: If they are not able to judge of it, they receive no good by it; and, If they are able to judge, they do not need it) it is a requisite *expedient* for hopefull proceedings in that kind, That, men proportion their *Proofes* according to the nature and condition of those *Propositions*, which they are to *prove*: If the matter, be a *Matter of Belife*, the *Scripture* is the best *proofer* thereof; because the *Scripture* exactly conteynes all *matters of Faith*; but if it be, a *Matter of Practise*, the *Scripture* is not the best *Proofe* thereof; because, as it containes not exactly, all *Matters of Forme*, so, neither is there any reason, why it should containe them, it being the principall, if not the sole end of *Scripture*, to transmit those *Lawes of Faith* unto the world, by which, it should be governed: and not, to transcribe the *Formes, Institutions, and Difference in degrees*, of those Officers, who, then did, and ever were, to governe it. Nor does it a whit impeach the *Divine rights* and *Institution of Episcopacy* in the *Church*, founded in the first Apostles, if there should chance to be found, no particular Text in Scripture, which, in *express* *termes*, does settle

and establish that *Foundation*: no more, then it does impeach the *Right of Monarchy*, in a *State*, founded in the *Roman Empire*, or, in any other *Kingdom* of the *World*, a thousand *yeares* *agoe*, because in the *Code*, or *Digest* of those *Fundamentall Laws*, by which those *Kingdoms* have been so long *govern'd*, there is no *particular Act* or *Law*, made, in *direct wordes*, which does establish and ordaine, that *Imperiall* and *Monarchicall* *Forme* of *Government*. And therefore, there is no more reason in the *world*, when a man sees, or may see, that the *whole Church of Christ* in all *ages*, hath ever acknowledged, and observed a *difference of Order* between a *Bishop* and a *Priest*, why, he should inferre, that at first, a *Bishop* and a *Priest* were *all one*, no doubt, because the word *Presbyter*, in *Scripture*, is sometime given to *both*: Then there is, when he reads, or may read, that the *Church of the Jewes* in all *ages*, never had but *One High-priest*; Why, he should inferre, that at last, there were *Two High Priests* in that *Church*, no doubt, because *Annas* and *Caiaphas*, are *both* called *High Priests* together, in *Scripture*.

I speake none of this, as if I thought the *Divine Rights of Episcopacy* could not be prov'd by *Scripture* (for I rest most assured, it is as clearly prov'd from thence as the *Observation of the Lords Day*: which particular, I rather doe infitt upon, because, in these Propositions for a well settled *Peace*, There is *One Act* desired to be passed, for the *Abolishing* of the *One*, and *Another Act* desired to be passed, for the *Observation* of the *other*; when all knowing men must confess, their *Interest* and *Tenure* in the *Scripture*, to be *equall*, and the *same*.) But because I think, that *Scripture* is not the right *Topicke*, out of which men ought to deduce and draw those *proofes*; If it finde but any *footing* in the *Scripture*, the *Churches universal Practice* of such a *Profe*, is the *best Proof* that can be made, of such a *Practice*; In regard, that *Matters of Faith and Good Life*, as they are *Essentiall* to the *Church*, so, they are *Univocall*; and, the *Scripture*, as it delivers them, once, so it delivers them, ever: but, *Matters of Forme, and Government*, if they should be *confitt Essentiall* to the *Church*, in their *Institutions*; yet, are they not alwaies *Univocall*, in their *operations*; but, of necessity

necessity must rise and fall, and, either admit of growth, or
 seems to do so, according to the conditions and changes of time,
 that will suit best unto them. Besides, the condition of the
Mysticall Body, the body of the *Church*, as considered in her
Infancy, to my thinking is not much unlike to the condition of
 the *Naturall body*, the body of *Man*, as considered in *His*; and
 the severall operation of *orders* in the *one*, is not much unlike
 to the severall operation of *saules* in the *other*; now we know
 that the *reasonable soule*, albeit a soule of *another order*, then the
sensitive (being derived from a nobler extraction, and origine)
 and infused from the beginning into the Body, no leſle then it;
 yet, it exerciseth little or no *distinct* operations in that body from
 it; till such time as that body come to *yeares* of understanding,
 where *Reason* may have room and scope to work in, at her plea-
 ſure: In like manner that *Order of Episcopacy* might be plant-
 ed from the beginning in the *Church*, and be ſuperinduc't upon
 this *order of Preiſthood*, as a *distinct* and *nobler* *Order* from
 it; and yet, in the *nowage* of the *Church*, there may be little or no
distinction found in the *Scripture*, of *Administration* of thole
Orders; which then began most eminently to appear, when that
Body of the Church was a little more grown, and come to *yeares*,
 and had *Inſtruments* fittēd, and *Organs* well prepared for the
 execution thereof. Furthermore it would be conſidered, that
 there is ſomething almost in every *practicall Text of Scripture*,
 like to that which the Painters call the *Aire* in every *Face*; it all
 the *parts* of a *Face*, be taken in their right feature and propor-
 tions, and that *Aire* be not taken (which *Aire* is a *kind* of *center*,
 wherein all *conſents* of *ſimilitude* and *likenesse* meet) one man
 will confidently pronounce the *Face* is like, and another will
 as confidently pronounce as he, that it is not; and both believe
 themſelves to be very right in judgement; If the *ſense* of the
 words of any *Text* be taken and understood, according to the
partiall and *particular* acceſſion of thole words in other pla-
 ges; and then the *Generall Aire*, the *Scope* and *Harmony* of the
whole Text, with that which went before, and that which fol-
 lowes; The Relation and Interelt which it hath to *persons* and
places, or that *caſt* of the *looke*, as it were, which it hath upon
 ſome

Some *Times, Usages, and Customs*; if all this be not taken, and understood, as well: One man, may deduce one conclusion from that text, and another man, another crosse to that, and both think themselves to have inferred justly. No mervaile then, if these men, should produce some Texts of Scripture, that colour for Presbtery to those mens Apprehensions, that are resolv'd before, to set it up: and no mervaile, if they produce other Texts, that look asquint upon Episcopacy, to those mens understanding, that are resolv'd before, to pull it downe; For, when the *Aire of the Face*, is mist, it is no longer, a *Picture*, but a *Phanoy*; and, whom, every man is pleas'd to think it like, like to them, it is; and, when the *Aire of a Text* is mist (as they, generally, either, never goe about to take it, or, ever miss it) That text, is like the *Children of Israells Manna*, which will tast, to every man, according to the particular affection and inclination of his own palate; or, like *Pauso's Horse*, which was, ever ready made, whither you would have the *Head or Heeles stand uppermost*, all was one. And, therefore our Commissioners chalkt them out the readiest way,

Full Narrati-
on p. 56. n°
LXIX.

to detect the unlawfulness of Episcopall Government, if there were any; when, They desired to be informed by them, when, and where any Nationall Church since the Apostles time, was ever governed without it. For, if they pretend that Government to be unlawfull, and yet, can shew no other; it is a shrewd argument, that they doe but pretend it; For, it can hardly be imagined, that Christ should ordaine but one only lawfull forme of Government in his *Church*, that was to abide, even unto the end of the World: and, that, that *Forme* should so soon decay and perish, as that there should not remaine the least foot-step or impression of it in his *Church*, for the whole space of Fifteen hundred years together. But their Commissioners will no heare of this; They tell us, that, what our Lords did men-

Their Reply ^{21. Feb. p. 57.} concerning a *Nationall Church*, is a new *Question*, which hath not, as yet, been any part of the subject of their Debate.
No LXX. Good Lord! how well acquainted are these men with *Congregationall*, and *Classicall*, and *Synodicall*, and *Nationall Assemblies*, which are for them: and, what a strange matter they make,

make, of a Nationall Church, because, it is against them? This is but just, as I have known some beggars, who will make you believe they do not understand scarce a word of good English, because they find, they can get more with *Gaming*. Well: They are willing for all this, to believe *Episcopall Government unlawfull*: and I make no question (at least no new Question, for I believe, it is already stated) but that, They look to be well paid for their opinion. But this I must tell them: I would not have them found that unlawfulness on Scripture; or I would have them finde it; For, as concerning all their arguments out of Scripture, which have hitherto been brought against it, I will say no more but this; That they have concluded no more against *Episcopacy*, even to those very persons that have such unequal thoughts, and so prejudicate affections to that sacred *Order*; Then they may conclude, when they please against the keeping of the *Lords Day*, against the *Baptizing of Infants*, against *Origionall sinne*, or in a word, against any one Article, either of *Christian Practice* or *Belief*, established in the Church; when the *disbelief* of any one of these Articles is like to prove as *advantagious* and *beneficiale* to them, as the *disbelieving* of this *Episcopacy* hath done.

Concerning the *Militia*, their demands were Two, First, They demand the *sole Nomination* of all the Persons to be en-trusted therewith wholly to themselves, not allowing the King, not only the *Power* of nomination of one man in Twenty, but not so much as the *Power* of exception against one man in Twenty: Secondly, they demand the *Comittance* of the *Power* during pleasure, and *without any limitation* or *restriccion* of Time. And truly, when I met with this, I began to think, that in short time, the Rebels would invest the King with such a *Prerogative*, as *Agaparcides* reports of the *Sabaeans*, that they allowed their King so long as he kept close, and within his *Court*; it was lawfull for him to doe any thing, what he would, but if once he stirr'd a foot, but out of his *Palace*, it was then lawfull for them to stone him. *His Majesties most Loyall and most Humble Subjects*, will be content to spare him a little *Honour*; but they will be sure to clip, and pare him to the quick,

quick, of all His Power. So that upon the whole matter, the Case is this. *John a Nokes* and *John a Stiles* fell out, and fought; and having drawne some bloud one from another, at last, they were contented to put up their Swords, and be made Friends. Provided, that both their Swords might be put into such hands, as might prevent all further quarrelling, betweone them. *John a Stiles*, he proposes that both their Swords may be put into *Two* friends hands; that the *ones* Friend may keep the *one*, and the *other* Friend the *other*. But *John a Nokes*, (though cause/cessely he drew first on *John a Stiles*, which meant him no harme yet now,) afraid least *John a Stiles* shewd doe him mischiefe, will have both the Swords put into *his* owne hands, or He will not be Friends. Now certainly, through upon severe examination of this off'r'd Composition, there be no *real* security, founded upon that motion, even of *John a Stiles*, (for if the *Two* Swords should be put into *two* Friends hands as he desires; The Danger might be *more*, because They might fall out also, as the *other* did before them: But the Security is *not*, because *two* Persons are no more *secure* against *two*, then *one* against *one*.) yet there is more *Imaginable* security, that is, Men will be more apt to conceive and swinge, that *John a Stiles* intended and meant honestly, as equally, and as indifferently to provide for both their securities, as possibly upon the sudaine he could, in *this His way*; then They can *imagine* or *conceive*, that *John a Nokes*, could intend or meant in *that* way of *His*. And yet this is the way the Parliament will take, or none; Valesse they may have the *whole* Power of the *Militia* put into the hands of such Persons amongst themselves, whom they shall nominate; They will not hear of *Peace*. Now if the Nomination of Commissioners for the *Militia* be devised, as the fittest instrument in order to *security* of Sides, as no doubt it is; reason will, that, as the *Fears* are *equall* and *reciprocall* on both sides, so should the *Security* be also; And then what reason is there in the world, that the King shoulde not as well desire the *sole* Nomination of all the Commissioners of the *Militia*, in order to *His* better *Security* from *Them*; as that They shoulde desire the *sole* Nomination of those Commissioners, in order to *their* better *security*.

urity from Him ! Oh ! there is great Reason, they will tell us ; and such a Reason that we little thought on ; For *This Power* Full ^{of the Commissioners.} whom they desire to Nominate, without the King, ^{is not to be exercised by them until a Peace be concluded upon the Treaty,} and then His Majesty will be fully secured by the *Lawes of the Kingdome*, and by the *duties and affections of His People*. If I understand ought, the Result of that which is here laid, is this : There are *two wayes of securing* both the King and the Kingdome, when the *Peace* is once settled, from those *mutuall Feares and Jealousies*, which the one hath of the other ; and they are these. First the *sole and whole Nomination* of such a number of *Commissioners*, that shall have power over all the *Forces of this Kingdome both by sea and Land* : that is one way ; and Secondly, The *benefit and use of the Lawes of the Land*, together with the *Duties and Affections of the People* to guard ones Person, that is another way. Now the *justest and most equall way*, to divide this *double Security* between both Parties, against their *double Feares*, is this : For Them to take the *Sole Nomination* of all *Commissioners* that shall have Power over all the *Forces of the Kingdome, both by Sea and Land* ; and so secure the Kingdome this way : and for Him to bende himselfe to the *Lawes of the Land*, and the *Duties and Affections of His People*, and so secure Himselfe that way. But what if this way be neither just nor equall ? I have a just suspition upon it, which I wish they would remove ; For I demand : This *Security*, which the *Lawes of the Land*, and the *Duties and Affections of the People* can give, either it is *greater* then that other *Security*, which consists in the *Sole Nomination of Commissioners*, or it is *lesse*, or it is *even*, and as *commensurate* in all parts and proportions, as any two thiengs can be. That both these *Securities* are *equal* on all parts, I believe, they will not lay ; because I know, they never measur'd them ; for albeit, they may reckon and number the *strength of their Horses, and their Armes*, yet they may not reckon and number the *Affections and Hearts of the People* : or if they have numbered them, and find them *equal* on all partes ; I hope I may say, it is not *Incredibill*, and I know They must say, It is not *Injustice*, o

two Equal Securities, for the King to Choose, and then the matter is ended. But if they say, it is either greater or less, then are the King and the Kingdom, still in the very same Insecurities, Fears, and Jealousies which they were before; and to these wayes which they have found out for mutual securities, do not reach their Ends; and by consequence are not in reason to be insisted on. For if the Laws of the Land, and the Duties and Affections of the People be a lesser security to the King, then the sole nomination of Commissioners is to the Parliament; then is not He so secure from Fears and Jealousies from Them, as They are from Him. And if they be a greater security, then are not they so secure from Fears and Jealousies from Him, as He is from Them. So that, take these wayes how you please, and they must needs prove either impossible or useless; useless, if one of the securities be greater or less than the other, for then they doe not equally proportion the Securities unto the Fears: Impossible, if once they goe about to number the Hearts and Affections of the People, and reckon upon them: which commonly the greater sort of People themselves doe not truely know.

And as it is against Reason, this Demand of Theirs, so is it against Law: The Power of Warre and Peace, and the Managery of the Civill Sword, being so rivetted and incorporated into the Crowne, by the Fundamentall Lawes of this Land, that without manifest Alteration in the very Foundation of this Government, it cannot be distinguished and divided from it. When They are told of this, They tell us againe, that this Demand of

Full Narrati-
on, p. 62, n^o.
LXXV.

Theirs, conteines no such Alteration, as we speake off, but Desires that, which by the Wisedome of the Parliaments of both Kingdomes is judged necessary at this time, for the security of His Majesties Kingdomes, and preservation of the Peace now to be settled. But if these words admit of any, they must admit of one of these four fences; and let us see, whither any one of them make a true Answer to that which hath been said. For first, either they must meane, that to have had a Power, and now to have it not, is no Alteration, (and surely that is false; for if a notion from being such, to a not being such, be a proper Alteration, as the Philosopher telleth us, it is; Certainly, to have the

Sole

Sole Power of the Sword in ones bandes, is a being such; and to have no Sword in ones Power, is a not being such; and so by consequence an Alteration.) Or Secondly, they must meane, that such an Alteration in the Government of the State, which both the Parliaments of the Kingdome desire, is not to be call'd an Alteration; (and truly that is true; so long, as both the Parliaments onely desire it: but when They obtaine that desire, then it is as perfect an Alteration, as if it were made by Force and Violence: as a man does as truly loose his money when he is cheated, as he does when he is rob'd: and then 'tis false again.) Or in the third place, Their meaning must be, that, that Alteration which is for the better, namely, the preserving of the Peace, and securing of the Kingdome, and is judged necessary to that end, by the wisdome of both the Parliaments, that, is not to be call'd an Alteration; (and if the other sense be false, this cannot be true: for it is all one, in respect of the Truth and Nature of an Alteration in the Civill Body, whither it be done in Passion, and for the worse, or in Judgement, and for the better: as it is all one, in regard of the Truth and Nature of an Alteration in the Naturall Body, when he that was well the last minute, and is ill the next, whither he be made so sick, either by his Surfet or his Physike.) Or last of all, They must meane, that They doe not know what an Alteration is: (and that may be True; but supposing the Wisdome of the Parliament, it were better for their credit to be False:) And then, take these words of theirs, in any one of these four sences, which you please, and they signify just nothing in the way of a true Answer to that objection concerning Alteration, which our Commissioners urg'd them with before: For the words taken in either of the three first sences, doe indeed containe an Answer, but that Answer is not Truth: and taken in the last sence, They may indeed containe a Truth, but that Truth is no Answer.

This Demand notwithstanding so senselesse and unreasonable in the very substance of the thing, receives a new accession of Insolence, from the circumstance of time: For (as if their Sovereignty could have no soule, unlesse that soule were Immortal.) First, they desire this nomination of the Commissioners,

Full Narrati- desire it for seaven yeares at least, and after the expiration of that
 on, p. 88. no^o. tearme, to be settled and exercised in such manner, as shall be agreed
 C X X X I. on by His Majestie, and the Two Houses of Parliament in Eng-
 land, and by His Majestie, and the Estates of the Parliaments in
 Scotland, and not otherwise. So that for these seaven yeares it
 seems they will proceed with the King, as God did with Ne-
 buchad-nezzar for his seaven times; He shall converse with
 Beasts, (that is, He shall be no better then any one of the Beasts
 of the People, as the Prophet speaks,) His Royalty, and His Im-
 periall Rights all this while being taken from Him; which after
 those seaven years, like Nebuchad-nezzars understanding, shall
 revert and returne safe again unto Him. And is not this a gracious
 condescension? Is not this a kind relaxation of the former Ri-
 gour? are not these men willing to comply, and to do any thing
 for Peace? I will not say that either this is a condescension, and
 a complying on their parts, or that nothing is; but I will say that
 either this was a condescension and complying on their parts,
 or that nothing was; for in all those Twenty dayes of the Treaty,
 which should have bin intended by both sides, for reciprocall
 abatements of the rigour of their first Desires, They never re-
 ceeded from any one part of any one of their Propositions, but on-
 ly in the particular of this Limitation, and eighteen of the twenty
 dayes were full elapsed and expired, before ever they expressed
 abus. But what if these Oracle like words of theirs should have
 a double sense? what if that which we are willing to take, as e
 astle Gram should prove a greater Grievance? I think if these
 words [And after the expiration of the said tearme, the Militia
 of the Kingdome to be settled and exercised in such manner, as shall
 be agreed on by His Majestie and the two Houses of Parliament,
 &c.] be well weigh'd and examined, although they may seem
 to returne the King, after His seaven yeares Apprenticeship,
 unto his Liberty agaistie, and as it were make Him Free, yet they
 will signific no more in order, to any such true Freedom, then in
 that old expression of [For ever and a day] that Day, there sig-
 nifies in order unto any true time; For if the King shall not exer-
 cise His own Legall Power of the Militia, when those seaven
 yeares

years are expired, Otherwise, then by both *Houses of Parliament* shall be agreed on (as their words expressly lay, he shall not) what is the difference between His condition, during these *seaven years*, and His condition when those *seaven years* shall be expired but only in this, that for *seaven years* He shall have no Power *with them* and after those *seaven years* He shall have no Power *without them*; so that either way He is bereaved of His *Right*; and for ought I can see yet, more this *last way*, which is proposed in the way of *Concession*, and *Favour*; then he is, the *first way*, which is imposed by way of *Oppression* and *Rigour*. For the King, having no Power *with them*, but being excluded for *seaven years*, from the nomination of *Commissioners*, hath thus much of *Liberty* left him, that he is not oblig'd, either to *God*, or *Man*, to answere for those miscarriages of *State*, that shall happen in the mean while, by Persons that may abuse their *Trust*; and although he *suffer* something, yet all this while, he is sure, that He shall *Doe* nothing, *against his owne will*; But the King having no power *without them*, that is, having his Power ordered, as it is like to be, when his *Seaven years* are out, by both *His Houses of Parliament*, and [O. T. H. B. R. W. I. §. 2.] *not to be exercised*, may be reduced to this strait and necessity, that if both *His Houses of Parliament* shall agree upon some *Person* notoriously disaffected to His Majesties *Rights or Government*, who thereby, perchance, shall have merited some marke of His *Displeasure*; The King notwithstanding, shall be compelled and enforced, to *Doe* something *against his owne will*; and to set upon such a man a speciall stamp of *Confidence* and *Favour*; Which indeed, rather is a piece of *infelicitie*, then a part of any *Power*, as we call it *Power in God*, whereby he is able to doe *any Thing*; and yet, doe not call it *Power* but *Weaknesse*, even in God him selfe, if he should be able to sinne.

And having thus extracted all the *Pure Metal* of the *Crown*, by their demands, having thus extenuated and annihilated all the Kings Power of *making Warre*; they begin to bethink themselves, of disposing the *Ally* too, for their best advantage; They will no leave Him, so much, as a Power neither,

neither, of Making Peace. For they demand, That the Cessation of Ireland, and all Treaties with the Rebels, without consent of both Houses of Parliament be pronounced void; And that the Prosecution of the Warre in Ireland, be settled in both Houses of Parliament, to be managed by the joyned advice of both the Kingdomes: Good God! That these ill men should not be content to rob their King of all His Power and Royalty; that they should not be content to render Him no True King; But their pertulant insolence must attempt His very Faith and Honesty; But they must attempt to render Him no True Mans As if they had a purpose to constraine Him, to a needless breach of Promise now; that with more colour, and better credit, hereafter, they might distrust Him; as they report of the daughter of Sejanus, who was first purposely ravish't, that afterwards, she might be put to death; because being a Virgin, by the Law she could not suffer! For this particular demand of making the Cessation void, was made in the moneth of February last; and that very Cessation voided of it selfe, expired in the Moneth of March; Now if the Kings Commissioners had agreed to the latter part of this Demand, the settling of the prosecution of the Warre in both Houses of Parliament, for the time to come; what could the voiding of this Cessation contribute to the current of their designe (but onely by way of scandalous Reflexion upon His Majesties breach of Faith and Promise) when that Cessation would void it selfe, would exhale and expire of it selfe, before ever those Designes of theirs could be ripe for any prosecution?

I confess, when I look well upon it, me thinkes the true state of this question, concerning the Irish Cessation, is the same with the state of that question in Plutarke, concerning Demonides his shooes. Demonides was a lame impotent man, and therefore had his shooes made very wide and easie for his feet; Those shooes, when a cunning youth had stolne one day from him, and some of his neighbours comming in, and willing to extenuate and alleviate his Losse, that he might be the lesse affected with it, had told him, that they were but a scurvy pair of cleverly shooes, and very naughtily made; Demonides replied,

replied, that the *shooes* indeed, were no very *good shooes*; but they were *very good shooes* for *Demonides*, because a better paire would not have fittid his sore feet halfe so well. In like manner, it may be said of this *Cessation*; That indeed, it was no *very good Cessation*; because peradventure other *Cessations* heretofore, have been made, according to the more punctuall Rules of *Honour* and *Advantage*: But it was a *very good Cessation* for *Ireland*; because the condition of her infirmitie was such, that she could admit no better. For when the *Chief Justices* and *Officers of State*, when the *chiefe Commanders* and *Officers of the Campe*, when both of them shall complain unto the King, of the miserable condition and posture of *Ireland*, for very *want of Food*; and advertise Him, by their Letters, of her present inabilities to maintaine the prosecution of a *Warre*; what could the King doe more, in discharge of His duty both to God and Man, then to admit of a *Cessation*, in order to a present *Peace*? The *Houses of Parliament* it seems would not help them *at all*; (for after *Six months* expectation, they send them provision of *Victualls*, for some *Seaven daies*, as if they purpoled a *scorne* to the Miseries of their poore Brethren, rather then *asuccour*.) And the King could not help them *better*, then by giving his *Approbation* to a *Cessation*, which the *Publique Ministers* of the *State of Ireland*, had ordered and assented to, there, as fittest for the present condition of that Kingdome; and so shew Himselv^e, at least *willing* to *Respite* that *Cause* as well as He could, which He well knew himselfe *unable*, to *Revenge*.

Now in *Inducijs Bellum manet, quamvis Pugna cesser*, say our Books; So long as the Parties ingaged in a *Warre*, proceed no further then *Cessations*, and *Truces* for a time. There is only a *suspension* of the *Fight*, there is no *suffocation* of the *Quarrell*, which may better be resum'd again, when they that manage it, shall have out-grown those necessities and encombrances, which compell'd them first unto it so that if this *Cessation* were Destructive to either of the Parties, it is most like to be so to the *Rebels*; who were not in that *visible Distresse*, and *want* of all *sorts* of *Provision*, as the *Protestant party* was; and if the condition

tion of the protestants were the worse condition when the Cessa-
tion began, because the actuall necessities of both sides were
unequal, and we wanted more then They; certainly the condi-
tion of the Rebels cannot be the better condition, when the
Cessation shall end; because the possible supplies of both sides
must be confess'd equal, and They can be no more relevy'd, then
we. Notwithstanding all this, this Cessation of Ireland is explo-
ded, and exclaim'd against by both Houses of Parliament, as de-
structive to His Majesties good Subjects, and to the Protestant
religion, and only for the advantage of the Popish Rebels. Indeed
full Narrati-
on, p. 99. n^o.
CXLV.

I do read, that there may be *Destruction* in a *Cessation*; for the
Prophet David calling all men to behold the works of the
Lord, and what destruction he hath wrought upon the earth; in
the 46th psalm; makes his first instance in the poynt of a *Cessa-*
tion, in the next words that follow, *He maketh Wars to cease.*
ver. 9. But the Prophet had a *Mysticall* meaning in his words;
and so no doubt have They; For surely they mean that a *Cessa-*
tion is *destructive* to the good Subjects of *Ireland*, just in the
very same sense, that the *walls* of *Uthnals* is a *Preservative* for
them; and, if that be not a *mysticall* sence, I know not what is.
But if these men would speak plaine, they would say, That this
Cessation in Ireland is Destructive to His Majesties ill Subjects
here in *England*, who cannot have that convenient colour
now, to raise *Forces* and levy *Monies*, for the suppression of a
Rebellion there; which *Monies* and *Forces*, they may convert,
(as heretofore too often they have done) to the feeding and
fomenting of their own *Rebellion* here. And this is evidently
the Reason, why they so desire a *prosecution of the Warre in*
Ireland, and demand the settlement of that *prosecution* in their
own hands; that having once a Power, of impropriating all the
Succours of Ireland, to their own *Rebellious* ends and pur-
poses, they may with better advantage, mannage the Warre here
in *England*, against the King; when they shall have *Two*
swords for *His One*; and may fight against *Him*, not only with
His Enemies, but with *His Friends*.

For it both *Houses of Parliament*, intended only the pro-
secution of Justice upon those accursed Rebels, and not some vi-
cious

cious ends of their own, no lesse accursed then they, (for the grounds of all Rebellions are alike; and if there be any just ground for one, no ground is unjust, that is laid for any other) Certainly the King would be thought on, as a fitter instrument of execution, (whither He be considered as *King*, or as one single Person, who can have but *one will*, and so cannot differ from himselfe) then a collected body, made out of *many Persons* of two Kingdoms, (those of each Kingdom having a *negative voyce*) who thereby may have *Two willes*, and so differ amongst themselves; whereby the main busynesse must needs receive obstruction. Neither does that avoid this inconvenience, which these men say; namely, That *in case of any disagreement in the Committee, the two Houses of Parliament are to prosecute that Warre*; unless they can imagine any man so simple, as not to think it as possible for the two *Houses of Parliament* to disagree, as for *one Committee*; Besides, when the Parliament had a mind to settle the *Militia of England* for the preservation of the Peace, in the hands of some *Commissioners* of their own naming, and would exclude the King, from so much as the nomination of any one amongst them; They give this, as a reason of their desire; *That if the Commissioners should be severally named, as the King would have had them; probably they would have acted according to their severall interests, and the warre thereby would be more easily revived*; And is it not as probable now, if the prosecution of the Warre in *Ireland* should be settled in a Committee of two severall Kingdoms, *England* and *Scotland*, that the Persons of that Committee, should have *severall interests*, and ends in the carrying on of that Warre, according to their severall *Necessities* or *Ambitions*, and so what *one* aymes at, as a *Conversion*, the *other* may intend, as *Conquest*? by which meanes, the Warre either will be retarded, or, which is worse, *exchanged*? I doe not asperse either of the two Nations with the unworthiness of these Designes; But I must needs say this: When a great mans House is on Fire, which he is able to quench, with the servants help of his own Family, and yet strangers will be pressing in whether he will or no; It is an even wager, if *Two men come in together*

Full Narrati-
on, p. 110 n^o.
CL XX IV.

Full Narrati-
on, p. 92 n^o.
C XXXVI.
23, Feb.

to Halpe ; but One of them comes to Steale.

If this Committee of both Kingdoms should have but one and the same end, and that end, a good one : The quenching of the Fire of that Rebellion in *Ireland*, and the reducing of that unhappy Kingdome to His Majesties Obedience : yet certainly, reason would not, that the prosecution of such a good end, should be put into the hands of such *State-Empericks*, who will goe about to cure a burnt Finger, by putting it into another Fire : who think to quench the flames of that Rebellion there, by blowing up a greater Rebellion here. And let no man wonder, that I call this Rebellion a greater : For as the *Casuists* use to say, That, when a man Sweares, the greater the subject-matter of his Oath is, the leſſe is the sinne : So doe I say, That, when a man Rebels, the better his Ground is, whither it be *Religion* or *Gods Glory*, the worse is his Rebellion : because he goes about to lay that for a *Foundation*, which will never incorporate with any part of the *Superstructure* or *Building*. Nay, further then all this : If it should please God to give these men the grace of true Repentance, so that they should detest this unnatural Rebellion here ; and with unfeigned hearts should set themselves to the extirpation and rooting out of that Rebellion there ; yet, in reason, were not the prosecution of that Warre, to be put into their handes, even then, because, in the *Traverses* of an uncertaine Warre, In those ordinary reciprocations and returns of Fortune : In those ebbings and flowings of Success, which are not the leſſe naturall to great Enterprizes, because, leſſe certain : There will fall out many particular emergent occasions, both for *Action* and *Councell*, quia, non dum fiunt laudantur, sed cum facta sunt, as the *Orator* speaks : The Success whereof, will much depend upon the *Secrecy* : and the greatest commendation that can be given the doing of them, is, that they are already done. Which Councells can never runne so cleare through a *Sive*, as through a *Pipe* : where, many Heads have the conveighing thereof, as where, but one. And therefore it was not a piece of *Pride* but *Policy*, in that great States-man, who would usually debate all his Designes of Warre amongst his Councells, but then, would be sure never to follow that Advice, which generally

generally was accounted for the best : because by long experience he had observ'd, that a ~~lesse~~ Expedient, accompanied with Secrecy and silence, operated more in the wyes of ~~advantage~~ ; then a greater Expedient ; expos'd to common observation and knowledge. And then let all the World Judge, whither it stand with ordinary prudence and Reason, to commit the prosecution of a Warre to their Hands, who doe now manage an Actuall Warre against their owne Prince, and are in open Rebellion against Him ; which ordinary Wisedome and Discretion would not entrust them with (as being a Multitude) if They should returne to their Subjection and Obedience.

IV. In the last place, observe their inexorable obduracy and deafnesse against all enlargement, prorogation, or revizing of the Treaty. For being importun'd by the Kings Commissioners for an Addition of Time (that so, as they might give Fuller Answers to those Propositions of the Parliament if there were occasion ; so they might hope to receive some kind of Answer to those Propositions of the King : of which some, received no direct Answer, and some, no Answer at all.) They kept them still in suspence, till the very Twentieth Day, that Day, when the Treaty was to break up, before ever They would give them Answer : And then they tell them, *I has their Lordships* having not given full and satisfactory answers concerning Religion, the Militia, and Ireland, *They cannot for those reasons expect an Addition of Time* : (A man would think, they should rather have given more time in hope of Fuller Answers ; specially having nothing else to doe, but to receive the Homage of our Commissioners, as if they had come rather to keep a Court, then to speed a Commission.) Neither have they received any Instructions to continue this Treaty any longer then the Twenty Dayes, of which this is the last. Oh ! the torment of having an ill Conscience, and hearing Reason ! I dare say, never was any Cheater in the Pillory, gladder to see the Judges come from Westminster, then these ill men were to see the Twentieth Day, that was to redeem them from the cruelties of a convinced understanding ! And yet, as your ordinary Players, when they cannot play that Comedy which was intended, because some

Full Narrati-
on, p. 148. no.
C X C V.

of their principall men of parties are drunke : will lay the faulc
on the Spectators, and say, the House or Galleries are not full :
So these Actors of a Peace ; when they durst not continue the
Treaty any longer, because of those Overtures that were made
by our Commissioners concerning a *Cessation*, concerning the
Kings Returne to Westminster, and concerning a present disban-
ding of both Armies, the very steame and ayre whercof, was
able to turne the braines of this Rebellion, and to make it stag-
ger ; They tell our Commissioners, that it seemes *We had re-*

Full Narrati- *solved that the Treaty should end with the Twenty Dayes ; the*
on, p. 154. n^o. *means to continue it, being so well knowne to be, a good Progreffe*
C XC VII. *in the Propositions for Religion, the Milicia, and Ireland, wherein*
22. Feb. *they cannot find any satisfaction that was intended by Us, to be*
agreed unto. But when (as any man would imagine) did they
tell them this ? Truely just, when the last instant of the *Twenty Dayes* was now expired ; After Twelve a clock at night, when They were sure no *Answer* could be given, *as part of*
the Treaty, without their Consent ; As if the Rules of Treating
were like those of *Scolding*, and the simple World must needs
imagine, that because They had the *last Word*, They had the *best*
Caufe. I must professe ingenuously, when I met with this par-
ticular, and compar'd it with the *drollerges* of many of their o-
ther *Papers*, where meere *Fumes* are maintain'd like *Fortifi- cations*, and so much *Reason*, as will hardly make a cracker, is
mounted like some whole piece of *Canon*, that must sweep and
carry all before it ; I could not, on the suddain, satisfie my selfe,
whither I were reading *Solids* or *Phancies* ; whither I had
met with a *Relation* or a *Romance*. I could never heare any
thing of the *Presbytery*, but me thoughts, it sounded like the
report of some *Enchanted Castle*, which every *Knight* is bound
by his Adventure to *seeke*, but knowes not where to *find* : For
their Commissioners urge and preſſe Our Commissioners, ever
and anon unto it : and yet never so much as offer them any par-
ticular *Idea*, *visible Forme*, or *Representation* thereof, whereby
they might be enabled to passe their *Judgement* and *Opinion*
of it. I never could read their *Papers* concerning *Episcopacy*,
but me thoughts, it lookt, like to some strange *Blache-Knight*,
that

that was much afflited and oppressed , but no body could know the Cause : for I saw plainly , They were resolv'd to ruine it , though they had no Reason . And then , let the ground be never so disadvantageous , the Weapons never so unequall , the Quarrell never so unjust , or the Designe never so impossible : I found that the Knight did ever kill the Giant , as in all Romances . He is wont to doe : For let the Proposition be against Law , let it be against Reason , nay , let it be against Religion , all is one for that : and the Parliament is sure to have the better of the King .

But did Our Commissioners make no good Progresse in their three Propositions as these men pretend ? First , it is evident , We proceeded farther in Their Propositions , then They did in Ours ; for , apprehending the busynesse of that Meeting in its true and proper notion , as being intended rather for a triall of Judgements , then a tickling of Humours , Our Commissioners never returned Answer to their Papers , but such as was elemanted and made up of Reason and Conscience , Justice and Prudence , which of necessity must satisfie , either wise men or good ; whereas They rather gave Excuses then Answers , when They did give any ; and sometimes They would not give so much as that : which I think was so farre from being Satisfactory , that it was not Civil . And doe these men accuse us of breaking up the Treaty by our ill Progresse in their Propositions : when We had Propositions , (which They were to Treat on as well according to the Tenour of their own Commission ,) wherein notwithstanding They made not so much as any kind of progresse at all ? Secondly , We conceive , (and so We doubt not but the wiser world will ,) that the Commissioners on both sides , were to be reckoned on as Parties , who were mutually to make up this good progresse between them , by their complying and co-operating Hands ; and not as Judges for the one side to determine , whether that were good or no , which the other side had made ; and therefore we think , there is no more reason on the one side , why our Progresse on Their Propositions should be reckoned and accounted no good Progresse , because They say it is not : Then there is on the other side , why it should not be reckoned and accounted a good Progresse , because We say it is .

They ,

They find themselves a little pinch't with this ; and therefore They produce a Reason against our *good Progresse*, which they doubt not, but will satisfie the World, (Then, truly must they serve the World, as they serv'd Vs at Uxbridge : suffer it onely to receive a *Paper*, and then, not suffer it to Returne an *Answer* ; for otherwise, there is roome enough for a *Reply*.) And that reason is this : that, *For Religion We granted them very little or nothing, but what already They were in possession of by the Lawes of this Kingdome*. Should this which they alleadge be true, certainly this were a strange Argument against us, to prove, that we made no *good Progresse* in their Propositions, because we granted *little or nothing, but what they were already in possession of by Law* ; For, if the defence of their *Lawes*, was one of the chiefe Ingredients that made the *Warre*, (as out of doubt it was, and fourte yeares agoe, what other languagedid they speake ? wherefore did they take up *Armes*, but for the *maintenance of Religion, their Liberties, and their Lawes* ?) Assuredly, the bare Concession of the *free use and benefit of those Lawes*, is a signe of faire progreſſion in the way to *Peace*. He that should have told the *Souldier* when he first took up *Armes*, that he was to fight for the making of *New Lawes*, and not for the maintaining of the *Old*, would, I believe, have found but very cold *Musters* ; But in few yeares, see, to what a *Contradiction of sinne* these Men are growne ; At first, They took up their *Armes* to compell and force the *King* to *keep the Lawes* ; and now, They are resolv'd by like, never to lay them downe againe, if *He will not Break them*. It is one of the *Kings Propositions* offered to them, *That whatsoever hath been done contrary to the knowne Lawes of the Kingdome, should be renounced and recalled* : and I dare presume, *His Majesty* would allow that for a *good Progresse* upon His Propositions, if the *Parliament* would but grant *Him that* ; nay, *He would aske no more* ; *He would repose Himselfe in that*, as the sole *Complemet of His Desires* ; and yet, that very thing which the *King* would be contented to rely and rest on, as upon *His End* ; namely, *That nothing should be done contrary to the knowne established Law of this Land* ; *That, will not the Parliament accept*

Full Narrati-
on, p. 18. n^o.

VIII.

of

of in the condition of a good *Progreſſe*, onely bending and lead-
ing thereunto. Truely, this *Allegation* of theirs, is so full of ad-
vantage, that I could almost wish it True : that is, I could wish
our Commissioners had not granted them, so much as *very little*,
but had granted them entirely nothing at all, but what they are
in *posſeſſion* of already by *Law*; because I cannot well see, how
they could grant it. But, what if all this which they alledge
be false? What if our Commissioners were ſo farre from gran-
ting them *very little*, but what they were in *posſeſſion* of already
by *Law*, that they granted them *very much*? What if those par-
ticular *Concessions*, which were never yet established by *Law*,
were more then those which were? Nay, what if it evidently
be made appeare, that they never were by *Law of the Land* in
posſeſſion of any the leaſt of those *Concessions*, which our Com-
missioners offered unto them? I am ſo charitable in conceiving
these men may have ſome *Fleſh* in their Foreheads, that I hope
the *Scotſh* Commissioners (who muſt be a little *excus'd* for not
being *Acquainted* with our *Lawes*, unleſſe they had rather be
accus'd for their *Acquaintance*) had the penning of this Pa-
per, that was the *Stopple* of the *Treaty*; because, although the
words be *Engliſh*, yet the ſence, is *Scotſh*; But out of all doubt,
there is not greater evidence of *Light*, then of this *Truth*; That
of all those nine- or ten *Concessions* which our Commissioners
offered, upon the point of *Religion*, in the way of *Reconciliati-
on*, and *Advancement* of a blessed *Peace*; There were none of
them, but were the *Spawnes* of ſo many *New Lawes*: There
was not one of them, to which the *Church*, and *Church-men*
were heretofore oblig'd, by any known established *Law* of the
Kingdome, whatſoever. And now let all men Judge of their
Faith in other *Testitomies*, which cannot easily be reduc't to
a convenient *Teſte*: who dare thus abuse the *World* with
Faſhōod in This, which lyes ſo open and obnoxious to a plaine
and ordinary *Tryall*.

Secondly, For the *Militia*, they fay, We made no good *Full Narrati-
Progreſſe* therein, and therefore were resolv'd, it ſeemes, the ^{on, p. 155. n°.} *Treaty* ſhould break up; Because We thought it not fit to con-
ſent to any one of their *Demandes*, but made ſome new Propo-
ſitions

sitions of our owne, which were not in any degree sufficient for the settling and securing of the Peace of both the Kingdemes. I did ever thinke, till now, that it was one thing to make a *Progresse*, and another thing, to make an *End*: Doe they say, We made no good *Progresse* in the *Militia*, because We consented not unto their *whole Demands*? They might altogether as properly say, that a Country-man travailing towards London, hath made no good *Progresse* in his Journey; because, He is not come as yet, to *Charing-Croffe*. Questionlesse a *Progresse* is made on their *Demandes*, when We Consent, but unto any *part* thereof; and the *better* that *part* is, that is consented to, the *better* is the *Progresse*. Now, if *halfe* of any *Thing* be a *good part*, then is our *Progresse* upon their *De-*
mands, a *good Progresse*; for We consented to the one *halfe* of every *thing* that was required. They demanded the *Nomination* of *all* the *Commissioners*: and We granted them the *Nomination* of *halfe*; They demanded the *Militia* for *Seven yeares*: and We would have given them it, for *Three*. But I perceive, He grants them *nothing*, that does not grant them *all*; and it fares with the *Parliaments Demands*, as some report it does, in the fortunate Islands of *Arabia*, with the *Peoples Dayes*; They know not what belongs to *dawning*: They never see Day, till the *whole Sunne* appears unto them.

Besides, if Our *Commissioners* had made no better *Progresse*, then They pretend: if We had exhausted all those *Twenty Dayes* assigned for the *Treating* upon Their *Propositions*, in mere *Tergiversation* and *Cavill*: if We had *denied* Our *Assent* to all their *Demands*, and then had been never able to make good any colourable *Reason* for that Our *Denyall*; yet certainly, Their *Originall Commission* having a kind of *Counter-part*, and they being authorized to *Treat* upon those *Three Propositions* offered by *Us* to *Them*: as well, as upon these other *Three*, offered by *Them* to *Us*: *Reason* and *equity* would, that an *equall number* of *Propositions*, should have been allow'd an *equall number* of *Dayes*: and then, if the *Succes-
 lies* and *Issues* of both, had happily fallen out *equally unpro-
 fitable*, yet, no one side could have had just cause for to com-
 plaine,

plaine, of the partiall and uneven proceedings of the other. And although We doe not urge it, as an Argument of *Insolence and Pride*, that Their Propositions must be Treated on, in the first place, before the Kings; yet, when the pretence of Our ill *Progreſſe* upon *Theirs*, is made a Reason of their *no Progreſſe* atall on *Ours*: We cannot but look upon this *Order and Disposall of the partes*, as an Argument of great *Inconveniencie*, against a *Peace*: and which hath somewhat of the viſage of an Affected and Studyed *Obſtruction*, cast in the wayes thereof. For those *Three Propositions of Theirs*, if They had been denied at *Uxbridge*; yet, they might have been granted at *Westminster*, in a Full and Free Convention of Parliament, out of which I know not well, indeed, how They could be granted. But *those Three Propositions of Ours*, They, cannot be granted at *Westminster*, if They be denied at *Uxbridge*: unlesſe you thinke it fit to perswade *one* man to lay downe the *Bucklers*, whilst *another* beats him. The Kings Proposition for a present *Ceſſation in England*, could not be ſettled, but in a *Treatie*; The Parliaments Proposition againſt the *Ceſſation* which was already past, in *Ireland*, might be ſettled, *out of it*; and yet, ſo enraged & incensed are theſe men againſt that *Ceſſation there*; that they will not endure the mention of any thing that ſounds like it, *here*; as that impetuous *Emperour*, who, by witchcraft having learnt *three letters* of His name, that was afterwards to ſucceed him; put every man to death whom he could lay hands on, that had theſe *three letters*, for the beginning of his Name. His Majesties *Returne to Westminſter* (which Our Commissioners desired in the ſecond place) could not be *Safe*, but as both Sides agree, before *He commes*: But *Epiftopacy* (which their Commissioners deſired to have abolished) could not be, but *unsafe*, even *after his comming*: for if there be juſt Reason to take it away, *now*; there will be reaſon, *then*. And yet, ſo transported are they, with a paſſionate and eager purſuit of a thing, in the perſuasion whereof *both Parties* professe they *differ*: that they will not admit Discouſe, or *Treat* of another thing, wherein *both Sides* professe before hand, that They doe *agree*. Both Armies cannot

be Disbanded (according to that Demand of Ours) but before the King and Parliament doe meet: but the Power of the *Militia*, may be settled (according to that Demand of Theirs) after that Meeting; and indeed, there is but little reason, that this Power of the *Militia* should now come in *projection* in these *Times of Warre*: which must lye *Dormant*, as Themselves confess, and not be put in *Execution*, till the *Time of Peace*. And yet, so violent are these Men in settling of a *Power*, which *must not be exercis'd*, but in the *Time of Peace*; That they will heare of no course, that may be taken in the meane time, for *dissolving* of the *Warre*: like ordinary People in a *Croude*; that will make such hast, *every man* to get *first* out of dores, that *no man* stirres. So that, upon viewing of the whole matter, We can cast all these obstacles and Impediments in the wayes of *Peace*, that arose out of this perverse Method of handling the Propositions, into no other Mould, but this, That They, *never intending to conclude a Peace*, resolved in the first place to Treat of *Their Propositions*, which they knew, *no man with Honesty or Conscience could Grant*; That, in the second place, they might with better colour avoyd the Treating upon *Our Propositions*, which they knew, *no man with Conscience or Honesty, could offer to Deny*.

And, if all this which hath bin laid, be not enough to perswade with men of common understanding, that these *Rebels* never did *intend a Peace*, but that they purpose to make this *Warre*, which at first was their *Necessity*, now, become their *Trade* (for too many of them know not how to live without it) yet this *One Consideration* is sufficient to enforce them to beleife, if they will but weigh it well, and that is this: That, They never would allow the *Tender and Offer* of all those things, for *Overtures of Peace*; the *Stoppe and Obstruction* whereof, they themselves, ever professed, till now, was the greatest *Incentive and Occasion* of the *Warre*.

They took up Armes, for the *Liberty of the Subjett*; to vindicate and to recover that; and yet, in all this Treaty, they never let fall to much as any one word or syllable, tending or bending theremeto. They did well to set those words, [The

Liberty

Liberty of the Subject] in their Banners, so as they did ; For all the World cannot but see, that they meant it for a *Flourish* ; For, when the Kings Commissioners urged and pressed this point, of the *Liberty of the Subject* in many severall particulars, and desired, that *all illegall Power used over the Subject, as Full Narrati-*
imprisoning, or putting him to death without Lawe; stopping on, p. 18. no.
of his Habeas Corpus, and imposing upon his Estate, without
Act of Parliament (the very grievances, which these men
heretofore possest the World they labour'd under; and there-
fore urg'd them to take up Armes, that so they might redresse
them) *Should from henceforth be utterly disclaimed* ; They
would never so much as admit of any Treaty thereut, or re-
turne any colourable Answer concerning it.

V I I I.

Prop. 3.

They took up Armes for *Defence* of their *Religion*; And yet, in all the *Twenty daies* of this whole *Treaty*, were never able to produce any one Article of *Doctrine*, avowed and establisht in the *Church of England*, wherein that *Church* had rec-
ceded either from the *Truth*, or from *Herselfe*; And for points
of *Discipline*; when the King offer'd in His *Propositions*, all
easie to tender *Consciencies*, in such particulars as should be agreed
on by a *Nationall Synod* legally called; They would never heare
thereof; but, put off the *Treating* of that *Proposition*, as they
did the rest, with this uncivill Answer; That, *when the Houses*
of Parliament shall be satisfied in the good progresse of the Treaty *Full Narrati-*
upon their Propositions, concerning Religion, the Militia, and *on, p. 141. no.*
Ireland, they will give time for the Treaty upon these Proposi-
tions sent by His Majestie; In the point of which *Satisfaction*,
they were resolved beforehand, both to be *Parties and Judges*,
as already hath appeared.

C. LXXXIV.

They have raised severall Armies, upon this very reason
and ground, *To bring the King* (whom they pretended to be
seduced by Evill Councell) *up unto the Parliament* (His great,
and His good Councell, as the World must needs imagine) By
meanes whereof, too much of Christian Blood hath been al-
ready shed, and, as yet, shed in vain; (for by *Force*, They
never yet were able to obtaine it) And They doe now Re-
fuse His Majesties willing Offer of *Returne*; or to *Treat* of any

Faire means of *Accommodation*, in pursuit thereof, the onely *visible way* left under Heaven, by which They may effect it. And if They shall goe about, after all this, to Farce and fill the World with *Noysse* and *Clamour*, that They would have had a *Peace*, but the King would not. (as it is like they will) For my part, I shall leave off further *Perswasion*, and fall to *Prayer*; humbly beseeching God, who is the *Searcher of Hearts*, and knowes the *Spirits* of all Men ; To prosper on both Sides, those *Issues* and *Successes*, which They hope now to have, by *Warre*; according unto those upright *Intencions*, and unsigned *Purposes*, which They then had, of *Peace*.

F I N I S.

~~327~~

327